3:Chinnery G, E-5 (1929)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

125 Adopted children appear in a special column, together with the
126 necessary particulars as to sex, age, clan, persons adopting and relationship between them and the children adopted. In the last column of all, remarks of a general nature are recorded. Thus every child, excepting orphans and adopted children, is shown in the same line as its real father and mother, i.e., the male and female socially recognized as the parents.

124 Among an intelligent people like the inhabitants of New Ireland, with cautious methods of inquiry, it should be a relatively simple task to record accurate demographic data. I found, however, that the information I received going down the road had to be amended a great deal when I checked it on the way back. The most frequent errors were in the records of motherless children, whose names were occasionally given in line with stepmothers instead of own mother, i.e., instead of naming dead mothers and their children in line, informants omitted the name of the dead mother and named the children in line with their stepmothers. This faulty information did not arise out of name prohibitions (for where these existed others present called the tabu name), but simply through carelessness on the part of informants whose attention relaxed as they became bored with the inquiry. Baker*, in his work on Espiritu Santo, says—"It might be that a census with any pretensions to accuracy could not be taken without seeing each person individually, and, indeed, I think that this would be so in most communities. But any one who knows the Melanesian is aware of the intense interest he takes in his relationship to other members of his village. I found that they delighted in giving me the information I required, and when I was quite weary, after more than an hour's session, they would be as interested as ever." In New Ireland, I found every one greatly interested in the inquiry, and willing to give information, nevertheless a great deal of incorrect material crept in. The collection of demographic material in this Territory, however intelligent the people may be, should be made, when possible, in family habitations, and each person should be interrogated. The recorder should have sufficient time afterwards to check his material as widely as possible. The method adopted by some investigators of estimating the issue and survival rates of past generations by genealogical tables would be very unreliable in New Ireland, where information even of the present generation is frequently given inaccurately.

128 The enumeration completed, I worked out statistical tables and went back to the field where I inquired into the various phenomena indicated, extending the investigation as much as possible to conditions that appeared relevant to the inquiry, e.g., social organization, economic conditions and culture generally.

* Baker, J. R. *Journal of Royal Anthropological Society*, Vol. LVIII., 1928.

3: Chinnery G, E.-5 (1929) 1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10

attacking shoals of fish come near to take their share. The canoe-men throw in their fish bait to lure the sharks within range of their loops of cane, and then they catch them, and after knocking them on the head haul them into the canoe. 226

Small gardens are made wherever fertile ground can be found, and in one or two places there are sago swamps where sago is cultivated and reserved for times of dry weather and food shortage. 241

In olden days trading was actively carried on between some of the coastal villages and Tabar. Nowadays the coastal and bush people barter with fish and taro, pigs, &c. 439

A shell money currency is used for trading and ceremonial purposes. It consists of smooth flat discs strung on fibre strands. At Kandan this is known as *levene*. One kind *levene da lolot*, a small red shell money, is made in the islands north of Kavieng and traded down the road; another *levene do liklik*, a small white shell money of lesser value, is made in the vicinity of Lemasong and Pinigindu. On the Lelet Plateau a different shell money *levene dasilok* occurs. It is of great value locally. Nothing was known of its origin, and there is relatively little of it left. When they showed it to me, I recognized it as the red shell money used in the D'Entrecasteaux group of Papua where it is known commonly as *sapi-sapi* and *bagi*. Similar shell money also occurs in the British Solomons. It probably found its way into the district during the "Blackbirding days" of olden times when many natives from this coast were recruited and taken to work on the cane-fields of Queensland. One or two of the survivors were met in the villages, still hale and hearty despite their age. 436 [171]

In this area there is still another kind of shell money *levene bungabung* made from white shell, the discs being larger than the other forms. The origin of this is also unknown.

The record of my enumeration of the population was handed to Mr. Charles H. Wickens, Commonwealth Government Statistician and Actuary, for consideration. His comments thereon are sub-joined— 128

The three tables which are appended have been compiled from investigations made by E. W. P. Chinery in the villages of the East coast of New Ireland, and provided a mass of data which might be profitably availed of by those wishing to make an intensive study of local conditions in New Guinea.

The first table is in respect of the components of population, and indicates by males and females the conjugal condition of adults, the number of children and adopted children and the number of village people who were absent at mission schools or at work outside the village.

The second table deals with the issue and survival of children of a number of unions in each village, and indicates the mortality of children during the lactation period (approximately two years after birth) and up to the time of the investigation, and number of children that were born per union and the number that survived per union. The mortality of first-born children is also shown.

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128 The third table deals with the fruitfulness of unions, classifying unions where no issue has occurred under the heads of "newly married," "husbands working away from village," "husband or wife dead," or "wife still young," the balance being classed "apparently sterile." In all classes, other than this last, issue is probable at a subsequent date. In further columns the fruitful unions are classified according to the number of issue from one to ten, and the average issue and average survival per fruitful union is given. Particulars of masculinity of births, infantile mortality, issue dying, issue surviving and population divided into adults and children are also given. Columns showing the number of females at reproductive age and the number of persons who are aged, complete this table.

128 163 The acceptance of the issue rates for comparative purposes must be made with reservations, because the ages of the parties to unions and the length of time the union has existed or may exist are unknown quantities, whose individual values will certainly vary very greatly and of which the average values will probably vary from village to village.

The average issue per union for the East coast of New Ireland was 2.0, of whom 1.6 survived the lactation period and 1.3 survived to date of inquiry. The figures for average issue per union varied from 1.1 in the village of Kulangit to 4.3 in Kanagnusgnus; for survival of lactation period per union from 0.9 in Kantebu and Bumbuwe to 3.1 in Kanagnusgnus; and for survival to date of inquiry per union from 0.5 in Konobin and Lemaris to 2.1 in Kanagnusgnus.

The average issue per fruitful union varies from 1.6 in Kulangit to 4.3 in Kanagnusgnus and the survival to date of inquiry per fruitful union from 0.8 in Panatgin to 2.3 in Madina. The average issue per fruitful union for the whole area covered by the inquiry was 2.7 (survivals to date 1.7).

4: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930)1931 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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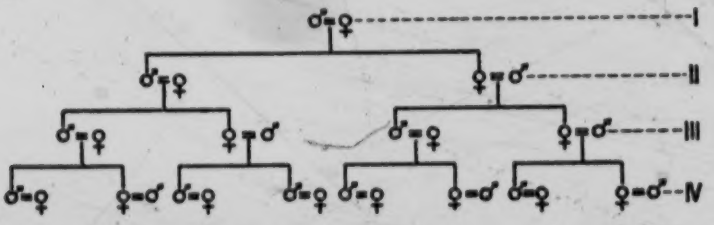
121 stone-age people, where the unit of a year is unknown, and where there is no record of ages, written or otherwise, this is a way of getting around the question of age. One can, through the use of genealogies, classify 121 everyone according to generation. Thus, given a number of genealogies, 128 such as



all those on the line with *I* are in one generation, those on the line with *II* in another, and those on the line with *III* in still another, and so on.

The generations have been indicated as follows: Those persons in generation *I* are a past generation in which the women are dead. The generation described as *II* are the children of *I*, and the women are old, past the childbearing period. Number *III* are the children of *II* and are women who have reached their menopause. The group known as number *IV* are young women whose marriage is of more than one year's duration and who are in the childbearing period, frequently in the beginning of it. This group can be used only in a limited manner. The sex, name, clan, order of birth (first, second, or third born, etc.), approximate time of death and various other ethnological facts were recorded for each person in the genealogies.

Because of the lack of a calendar and complete ignorance of their chronological age, intervals of time have to be calculated from the physiological crises occurring in the life history of an individual. The lactation period lasts from two to three years. The period of childhood indicates the time between the end of the lactation period and the beginning of puberty, approximately between the ages of two and a half or three and thirteen.[8] Youth covers the period from the end of childhood

[881] [8] The average age for the beginning of menstruation in the tropics is said to be 12.9 years. See Carr-Saunders, A. M.—*The Population Problem*, 1922, Oxford, p. 91.

For the boy there is no such clearly marked physiological end of childhood. Circumcision occurs, roughly, any time between the ages of about eight and twelve, or thirteen. It is a communal rite, held when the necessary food and wealth have been accumulated, and all the boys of the village within these age boundaries are circumcised at one time.

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to about sixteen, and by young manhood and womanhood is meant the time between the end of youth and the early twenties. These, of course, are only generalizations.

Since the main object is to determine infant and childhood mortality rates, and survival rates at the time of reproduction, death rates are calculated only for the period up to marriage. The point is to find out how many people survive until the time when they can reproduce themselves. It must therefore be remembered that the total number of deaths is always the total number occurring before marriage. Moreover, in the genealogical method, where in one classification all the principals are dead, this is the only feasible procedure.

It is obvious that there will be a certain amount of error in any vital statistics collected among a people where there are no records of birth and death, but the importance of real and classificatory relatives, the rather formalized pattern of behavior between them, and the elaborate pregnancy, birth, and death rites, and interclan marriages, enables a Melanesian native to give a fairly accurate genealogy. It may be also that the very absence of written records throws a heavier burden upon the individual's memory, which he does not shirk. But it is obvious that no matter how good the memory of Melanesian informants, errors in these data must exist. They are, however, in the nature of the material and would probably exist in any study made on a similar primitive people. As far as possible, these errors are indicated in the description of the tables, which, it should be understood, denote general trends rather than exact statements. The genealogical method, while taking much more time than the census method, enables one to separate the subjects into age groups and presents a more comprehensive prospective over a longer period of time. But because of the great amount of detailed work and time involved in the use of this method, it is only practical for a small unit of people.

The nearest comparable figures are those of the recent government census taken in 1929 for a part of the east coast of New Ireland (from Kavieng to the village of Karu, approximately 147 miles beginning at the northern end of the island) and which includes over a larger area the people designated in this study as generations II, III, IV, but excludes those in generation I (the dead).[4] The results of the government

[4] Chinnery, E. W. P.—*Anthropological Report*, No. 6, Territory of New Guinea. In print.